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The United States and the PLO: A Myth of Dialogue

A whole body of mythology has emerged in recent weeks, fostered by the media and the Andy Young affair, around the notion of a possible dialogue between the U.S. and the PLO.

The position of the United States on Palestinian aspirations, if it remains as rigid and as divorced from its relation to the reality of political life in the Middle East as it is today, makes this dialogue futile, if not totally ridiculous. First of all, the U.S. government has made a few points, in its Palestinian position, quite clear. It wants UN Resolution 242 to be the basis of negotiations of the Palestine conflict. It is a patently absurd notion for the simple reason that UN Resolution 242 has nothing whatsoever to do with the Palestine conflict. It is a resolution adopted by the UN Security Council in the wake of the June War of 1967 to deal exclusively with the regional, territorial conflict between the Arab states and Israel. To be sure, passing reference was made in the resolution to the 'question of refugees.' The problem of the Palestinians is, of course, only partially, the problem of refugees. At a fundamental level of relating to it, the problem of the Palestinian people is a problem of a nation in exile or under occupation denied its rights for freedom in its patrimony. It is a national problem, one of whose components has to do with the refugees who were expelled from their homeland in 1948.

The United States can not seriously expect the leadership of the Palestinians untenable, unrealistic and heavyhanded. But that is not with their problem where they are dismissed as 'refugees.'

That alone would make the position of the United States on the Palestinians untenable, unrealistic and heavyhanded. But that is not all that afflicts the United States in its Palestine policy, although it is bad enough. The United States has made it quite clear that it would veto any efforts to modify Resolution 242 to include clauses relevant to Palestinian national rights. This of course was evident last month at the Security Council when various member states proposed a new resolution that referred to the right of the Palestinians 'for sovereignty and self-determination' in their country. American officials had openly declared, on the eve of the Council debates, that they intended to veto the resolution if it came to a vote.

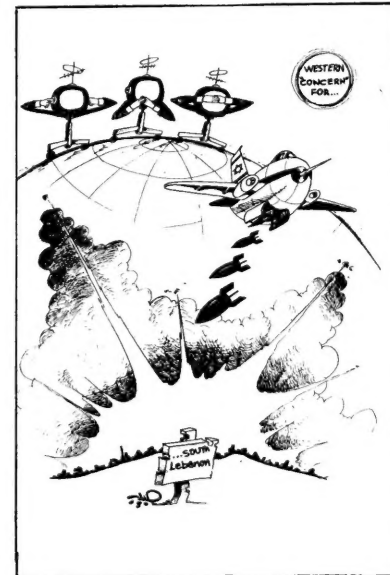
More than that, the United States government, with its Middle East policy made hostage to Zionist and Israeli pressure groups, has also declared that it is 'against' the concept of a Palestinian state, even a Palestinian state established in the West Bank/Gaza, a mere 17 per cent of the total area of Palestine. (In a display of total unreality last month, President Carter actually said, and with a straight face, that a Palestinian state would not be 'good' for the Palestinians.)

Yet, after reducing the Palestinians to a fragment and declaring its opposition to the right of the Palestinians for freedom in statehood, the American government finds it quite proper to ask the PLO to 'recognize' Israel!

In other words, the American government, while it denies the Palestinians their right for statehood and actively campaigns to prevent it and prevent even formalizing it in a United Nations resolution, expects the Palestinian leadership to recognize Israeli statehood--the statehood of those who have committed themselves, by force, to introducing institutionalized sadism in Palestine and to denying the Palestinians any semblance of freedom.

Obviously, it should be made clear, once and for all, that Palestinian recognition of Israel is an idea whose time is never, ever, likely to come.

Israel remains undefined politically and territorially--and therefore not subject to recognition.



Territorially, which 'Israel' are the Palestinians expected to 'recognize'? There is an Israel with its 1947 borders, the Israel that the United Nations General Assembly recommended be carved out of Palestine. There is another Israel with its expanded 1948 borders that, through military conquest that year, it acquired in war. There is another Israel with its occupied 1967 borders that came under its military control following the June War of that year. And there is yet another Israel, as envisaged by Menachem Begin and his ruling party, that includes the whole of Jordan. Today, the territorial component of Israel is undefined. And with this undefined, Israel itself is undefined--and therefore not recognizable.

Even if the United States expects the Palestinians to recognize Israel with its pre-1967 borders, which is what most countries that recognize Israel accept, the question is still meaningless. It is meaningless if for no other reason than the fact that it is Israel itself that refuses to recognize these borders as its final ones. The dispute is between the Palestinians and Israel; it is not between the Palestinians and the United States.

The territorial ambiguity (not to mention ambitions) of Israel makes the question of recognition impossible. The political issues involved, however, make recognition by the PLO of Israel patently absurd--as absurd, in fact, as asking the slave to recognize slavery before negotiations for his freedom take place.

What, politically, is meant by 'recognition' of Israel for the Palestinians? Does it mean, for example, that the Palestinians would recognize the political institutions in Israel that deny the Palestinians everywhere their right for repatriation and statehood in Palestine? Does it mean that the Palestinians would recognize the right of a Jew from Miami Beach to emigrate to, and settle in, Haifa and deny themselves that same right--although they as Palestinians, were born there.

As oppressors, as occupiers, and as colonizers, the Israeli leaders are acting true to form. What is unacceptable is that the United States government should mutilate its public commitment to justice by allowing its Palestine policy to become hostage to this Israeli tradition and by siding with the bully against the victim in this dispute.

The concept of self-determination is enshrined in international law and morality, it is sanctified in the precepts of those who believe in

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Special Report: U.S. Arms in South Lebanon



U.S. long-range artillery shells used against Tyre August 24-27.

The following report was written by Palestine Perspectives editor, Penny Johnson who spent July and August in Lebanon. A photo display on U.S. weapons in South Lebanon is available from the Palestine Information Office.

When U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon John Gunther Dean arrived in Sidon on September 4 on a governmental tour of South Lebanon, his black Cadillac was surrounded by hundreds of recent refugees from, the inferno of South Lebanon. Shouting "F-15, F-15" the refugees angrily told Dean: "Come and see what American bombs have done to us." Many of the new refugees had arrived in Sidon from the coastal city of Tyre, which was subjected to a murderous artillery barrage August 23-26 by U.S.-made long-range 155 and 175mm artillery. These guns, in fact, followed the refugees as they fled up the coastal road to Sidon, and Sidon itself, traditionally a city of refuge from the terror inflicted on the South, came under heavy attack.

For the population of South Lebanon, the current "controversy" over whether U.S. weapons have been used in South Lebanon is a farce with tragic effects. One would think that the public record of arms transfers to Israel — at a staggering one billion dollars per year, plus several billion under the "peace package"—would speak for itself. The Israelis, in fact, do not bother to deny their use of these weapons. On August 30, Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai

Zippori brushed aside U.S. scruples about deployment of American weapons in Lebanon and said that Israel "did not have a special type of weapon especially for use against terrorists and another type for opponents. We fight with what we have."

And what the Israelis have is the most sophisticated arsenal of U.S. weapons. On June 27, and again on September 24, the Israelis used the advanced F-15, never before used in combat, to shoot down Syrian planes and on July 22, these planes accompanied U.S.-made F-4s on a savage Israeli bombing raid of South Lebanon, with both operations admitted by the U.S. government as involving U.S.-made aircraft. The Pentagon, in fact, complained in July that U.S. condemnation of the June 27 raid prevented it from receiving a full intelligence report by the Israelis on the combat performance of the F-15.

Therefore, when the Israelis used U.S. Phantoms in an August 20 air raid against the village of Ras al Ain in South Lebanon, the State Department proclamation that it "did not know" if the planes were U.S.-made is a case of voluntary blindness. On the level of U.S. intelligence reports alone, it is impossible to believe that the U.S. has been so conveniently left in the dark. In addition, sources at Ras al Ain report that U.S.-supplied cluster bombs, anti-personnel weapons, were used in the August 20 attack.

U.S. Long-Range Artillery Pound South Lebanese Towns

The use of U.S.-made 155, 175 and 203mm artillery against South Lebanon in late August is also well documented. On August 30, I examined all three kinds of shells collected from the wreckage of Tyre. The fuse of the 203mm artillery, a heavy shell that can carry nuclear warheads, was still intact and contained U.S. identification numbers. The 203 and the 175mm are relatively new in the arsenal of the U.S. In 1969, the U.S. developed the 175mm in the context of the Viet Nam war, and supplied it to NATO and to Israel.

Washington Post reporter Ed Cody reported from Tyre on August 30 that a "fierce artillery barrage" on August 24 had sent "155 and 175mm shells crashing into homes and shops." In fact, the targets hit in the August attacks speak for themselves: the artillery shelling against Sidon on August 23 and 24 and the Beqaa Valley, which is at least 25 miles from the border, on August 23

could only have been carried out by U.S.-made longrange artillery. The Israeli claim that these attacks are against "terrorist" targets is also made invalid by the distances involved: at these ranges, it is impossible to aim the shells at any specific targets. Rather, this indiscriminate, heavy shelling is designed to terrorize the population and force it to flee, thus depopulating the South and clearing the way for an expansion of Israeli or Israeli-controlled rightist forces. In addition, the August barrage was timed to coincide with the UN Security Council debate on Palestinian rights and was an Israeli "veto" of a proposed new UN resolution affirming Palestinian self-determination.

U.S. artillery is also used to carry fragmentation shells, which are set to explode in the air, showering deadly fragments that do little to damage buildings but are effective against people. In one house in Nabitiyeh hit by a single fragmentation shell, I counted over fifty small holes where shrapnel had penetrated the roof. Time-delayed shells are also fired from U.S. artillery: these shells explode after impact—often injuring people as they leave their shelters to inspect the damage.

In late August, NBC showed that Israel used phosphorous shells fired from U.S. long-range artillery against Tyre. UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon) also documents Israeli use of phosphorous, which is internationally banned under the Geneva Conventions, in UN areas. Traveling through the South, one notes blackened fields and buildings from these shells. Agriculture in South Lebanon, in fact, has almost ground to a halt under the rain of shells and the damage to crops. The mayor of Nabitiyeh told me that phosphorous had burnt several tobacco harvests in the surrounding region.

Israeli-U.S. Arms: Cooperation To Destroy

It should be noted that the growing Israeli arms industry cannot be separated from the U.S. Not only are many weapons manufactured under U.S. license, but many parts of these "Israeli" weapons are U.S.-supplied. The Israeli Kfir fighter plane, for example, is equipped with a U.S. C-130 engine, which was sold to the Israelis under the condition that it be used only for "defensive" purposes. Financing, of course, both directly and indirectly, comes from the U.S. On September 14, Defense Minister

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SCLC Delegation: For Peace with Justice in the Middle East

The visit of ten members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to Lebanon September 17-21 has already raised a storm of protest in Zionist circles in the U.S. Yet the group of Black civil rights activists, which included SCLC President Joseph Lowery and SCLC Chairman Walter Fauntroy, also D.C. Delegate to Congress, had a set of very understandable concerns on their "peace mission": to see for themselves the situation in the Middle East, to talk with the parties concerned, including the Palestinian people and their recognized leadership, the PLO, and to discuss their own belief in non-violence and "human rights for all of God's children."

The SCLC position was discussed in a three hour meeting with PLO Chairman Arafat, in meetings with Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and Lebanese Premier Selim al-Hoss, and with other Palestinians and Lebanese leaders, including the Israeli-supported Phalangists. A proposed visit to meet Israeli leaders foundered when Israeli Prime Minister Begin refused to meet with Reverend Jesse Jackson, and by implication, with the SCLC delegation.

Racist Attacks on SCLC

The current attacks on the Black leaders have had a decidedly racist thrust. Rabbi Marvin Bash, President of the Rabbinical Assembly, Washington region, reporting on a September 24 meeting of rabbis, said as quoted in the *Washington Post* of September 25 that the meeting "agreed that the current involvement of some Black leaders in the complex issues of the Middle East in uncalled for," implying, as Reverend David Eaton of All Souls Church in Washington noted in a sharp criticism of this deep-seated racism, that "Black folks are only supposed to deal with civil rights." This exclusion of the Black community from issues that vitally affect them, like U.S. foreign policy, is, of course, totally unacceptable not only to Blacks but to all Americans committed to justice.

An SCLC invitation to PLO Chairman Arafat to address a SCLC-sponsored seminar at the United Nations, the first of ten SCLC seminars on the Middle East crisis to be held across the U.S., has come in for especially heavy criticism. The Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington lashed out at Fauntroy in particular and said: "We wonder if SCLC is not simply allowing itself to be used by



Arafat greets SCLC delegation

Arafat." Reverend Lowery had an apt rejoinder to this allegation in his speech at the Palestine Human Rights Campaign National Conference noting: "I know they say we are being used but they always say that." Lowery explained that in the struggle against racial segregation, Blacks were accused of being "used" by the communists, and when Blacks came out against the bloodshed in the Vietnam war, they were accused of being "used by the Chinese." Lowery declared: "I shall not be moved" and that Blacks "will stay in foreign policy" and fight for issues, like peace and a decrease in military spending and an increase in programs to help the unemployed, that serve Black people and the American people as a whole.

If it seems hypocritical for Zionist leaders to forbid Americans to meet with Arafat in the same month that Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman is in Washington, it is instructive how fearful Zionist groups are of Americans coming in direct contact with PLO leadership and the Palestinian people. The question is inevitably: what is it that the Zionists do not want the American people to know?

Israeli Bombing and American Taxes

One clear answer is the scope of the Israeli aggression against South Lebanon,

and the use of U.S. weapons against the civilian population. Noting that the town of Damour, which has been a frequent target of the Israelis, looked like the "ruins of World War II," Lowrey said "Israel should not use American equipment against our Palestinian neighbors." Representative Fauntroy, who picked up a piece of a 1000 pound U.S.-made bomb that he promised to exhibit in the House of Representatives, said "American weapons are being used in the bombing of Palestinian camps and the homes of innocent Lebanese and it troubles me." C.T. Vivian, assistant and executive director of the SCLC, added that "We are paying our tax money for the destruction of another nation. It must be clear to everyone that the death and suffering cannot be separated from the bombing and the bombing cannot be separated from the American taxes."

PLO Chairman Arafat in his meeting with the delegation explained the history of the Palestinian people, their current suffering and their rejection of the U.S.-sponsored "autonomy" plan as a "form of slavery." The human tragedy of the Palestinians moved the delegation and they announced a much clear understanding of the problems of homelessness for Palestinians in exile, and

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Destruction from Israeli shelling with U.S. artillery of Christian Quarter in Tyre, August 24: SCLC condemns this "indiscriminate" shelling with U.S. weapons.

also reported their positive experiences visiting Palestinian institutions, like Samed factories and schools for children from Tal al Zaatar. The "face to face and faith to faith" dialogue, as Lowery put it, was frank and productive. The SCLC presented its own proposal for a "moratorium on violence" to Arafat and other leaders, and has also proposed in a press conference on its return, a march of "100,000 Palestinians" from Lebanon back to Palestine, which Lowery said would "touch the conscience of the world." The delegation described its own role in the Middle East crisis in these terms: "We have no illusions about our capacity as negotiators. God did not call on us to draw lines on maps, but to lay out the moral principles behind the maps."

Those principles—of peace with justice in the Middle East and human rights—are in harmony with the goals of the Palestinian people, who want to live in peace—Jews, Christians, and Moslems—in their homeland, Palestine.

To Destroy the People: U.S. Weapons Against Lebanon

*Photos from exhibit available
from Palestine Information Office.*



Cluster bombs gathered in South Lebanon.

Storage tank dropped from Israeli U.S.-made F-15 fighter plane during Israeli raid and dogfight with Syrian Mig-21s on June 27. This was the first time the F-15 was used in combat anywhere.



Alia Baiwan and her twelve children have had their house in Bourj chemali refugee camp destroyed twice this year by Israeli bombardment. They now live a hand-to-mouth existence in a school in Ain al Hilweh.



Breaking Through the Wall of Silence: Palestine Human Rights Campaign National Conference



Reverend Jesse Jackson and Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf embrace.



Photo credit: Lynne Barbee

Ramsey Clark condemns Israeli bombing.

Several speakers at the Palestine Human Rights Campaign National Conference, which met in Washington, D.C. September 21 and 22, called the meeting a "historic turning point" in the movement in support of Palestinian rights among the American people. Signs of the growth of a new coalition, similar to the anti-war movement during the Vietnam era, buoyed the spirit of the conference participants, as Black leaders, anti-war and human rights activists, and Palestinian spokespersons received an enthusiastic reception by the over five hundred people attending the conference.

Stopping the "American War"

The conference took place as Israeli and Israeli-controlled rightist forces broke the uneasy ceasefire in South Lebanon that had provided a few weeks of relative calm for the besieged population. The eyewitness reports of former U.S. Attorney Ramsey Clark, peace activist David Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days* magazine, and Don Luce of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) brought the horror of this war home to the conference as Ramsey Clark declared: "Israel's violence directed towards Lebanon is absolutely unjustifiable. . . you cannot use technology against life in that way." The presence of these anti-war leaders at the conference was another indicator of cracks in the "wall of silence" surrounding the Palestine issue in the U.S. Don Luce, who publicized the infamous "tiger cages" in which Vietnamese prisoners were tortured, described the "massive and indiscriminate" destruction he had seen in South Lebanon as a result of Israeli aggression and declared:

"It is an American war. We can stop it."

Representative Paul Findley (R-Illinois) noted in his opening address that a "gathering like this was not possible a year ago." He urged public pressure on Congress, saying "You can help Yasser Arafat be seen as he should be seen—as a freedom fighter." Findley, however, admitted the lack of serious attention by his colleagues to the issue of Palestinian and Arab rights, saying "Is an Arab infant or woman less worthy of our concern?"

Israeli attorney Felicia Langer, whose long history of defending Palestinian prisoners was an example of courage and commitment to the conference, gave a detailed report on violations of Palestinian rights in the occupied territories and said: "Palestinians lead a battle for survival. The best sons of my people solidarize with its struggle." Mayors Karim Khalaf of Ramallah and Fahd Kawasmeh of Hebron sounded a strong note of steadfastness against the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza and support for the PLO. Khalaf affirmed in a speech that was met with resounding applause: "when they elected us, they elected the PLO. The PLO is Palestine and Palestine is the PLO."

Black America's Finest Hour

The appearance of Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) and Reverend Joseph Lowrey of the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) generated a special excitement and both Black leaders, who had stood with Martin Luther King in the struggle for civil rights,

exchanged warm embraces with the Palestinian mayors who now lead the fight against the brutal Israeli occupation. Jackson, whose speech focused on a "new world order" in which the U.S. "must recognize and respect the people of the world" noted that Black response to the Middle East crisis was "Black America's finest hour" and affirmed that "we have much to share and we must be heard." A few days before, Israeli Prime Minister Begin had refused to meet with this prominent Black leader, currently on a tour of the Middle East.

In a speech characterized both by moral seriousness and warm humor, Reverend Joseph Lowrey, President of the SCLC, described the SCLC delegation's mission to Lebanon on September 17-21 and declared: "We have sown the seed of peace." Noting that their group had been received with "open minds and hearts" by the Palestinian and Lebanese people, Lowrey condemned the "savagely and destructive bombing of Lebanon" and the Israeli use of U.S. weapons against the civilian population. Lowrey lashed out at the racist allegations made by Zionist organizations that Blacks have no right to speak out on foreign policy and the Middle East, saying "I deny the allegation and repudiate the allegator." Foreign policy, he noted, has a direct impact on the Black communities, who are the first to die in foreign wars and the first to suffer in economic recessions. The SCLC delegation, which advocates "human rights for all of God's children" proposed a "moratorium on violence" in its meeting with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Common Interests, Common Enemy

Conference organizers stressed that the foundation of the Palestinian rights movement in the U.S. rested on an alliance with the oppressed minorities in the U.S.—Black, Chicano, Puerto Ricans, Native American and others. PHRC Co-Chairman Abdeen Jabara affirmed that this alliance is not temporary or short-lived, but a strategic alliance based on common interests and a common enemy. Jim Zogby of the PHRC also stressed that supporters of Palestinian rights must get involved in the issues that

affect Black and other minorities in the U.S. to build an effective coalition to change U.S. foreign and domestic policies

Clearly, the transformation of the new energy and awareness of the Palestine issue shown at the conference into practical and effective work is the large task that lies ahead for all organizations and individuals concerned with this issue. The urgency of this work is self-evident in the ruins of South Lebanon and the escalating Israeli campaign to extend its sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, exemplified most recently

in the Begin decision to allow private Israeli land purchases on the West Bank. Its links to issues of utmost concern to the American people, and especially oppressed minorities, are also clear, most specifically in the bloated military budget and escalating amount of military and economic aid to Israel at a time of cuts in social programs and rising unemployment. Palestine has arrived on the political agenda in the U.S. Now, concerned individuals, activists and organizations must present this agenda to communities throughout the United States.

Palestine Congress in North America: A Historic Meeting

More than four hundred delegates from all across the United States and Canada attended the first constitutional convention of the Palestine Congress in North America, held in Washington, D.C. on August 17-19. Representing national and local Palestinian organizations, clubs and communities, including the United Holy Land Fund, the Ramallah Palestine Federation, Committee for a Democratic Palestine, Palestine Arab Fund, and the Palestine Red Crescent Society, the delegates discussed and adopted a new constitution for the Congress.

Thus, for the first time, Palestinians in the United States and Canada will coordinate their efforts through a new Congress that will help organize their political, social and cultural activities. The Congress will direct its efforts toward supporting the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of all the Palestinian people. It will represent the Palestinian community in North America, defending its interests and presenting a true image of the Palestinian struggle for freedom and self-determination.

A number of distinguished Palestinian leaders addressed the Congress as special guests. Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah in the occupied West Bank, told the cheering delegates that he brought the greetings and best wishes of their brothers and sisters in the occupied homeland. He stressed that Palestinians under occupation are determined to struggle against Israeli military occupation and will continue to make sacrifices to defend their homes and lands. He described the harsh Israeli military occupation, the torture of Palestinians in Israeli jails, the arrest of school children and the illegal confiscation of Palestinian lands and property. Khalaf appealed to the Palestinian community in the U.S. to explain the true facts about Palestinian suffering to the American public and to dispel the Zionist propaganda and misinformation. He called on all Palestinians to unify their efforts



Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah, addresses the conference.

and to unite in a true national spirit, because through unity they can achieve victory and freedom.

A special envoy of the PLO, Abu Ihab, brought the Congress a message from Chairman Yasser Arafat which saluted the efforts of the Palestinian communities in the U.S. and Canada to organize and unite and called on them to do their best to assist the Palestinians under occupation and in exile. It criticized U.S. policy which continues to support Israeli occupation and aggression and supplies Israel with the warplanes and bombs which have brought death and destruction to South Lebanon. Arafat stressed that the Palestinian people will continue their struggle and will strengthen their national unity until they can achieve liberation and return to their homeland, Palestine.

The Congress received messages of support from a number of representatives including those of Iran, the Lebanese National Movement and Black Americans. The Ambassador of Iran stressed that the

Iranian people will stand with the Palestinian people in their just struggle for freedom, and the representative of the Lebanese National Movement stressed that the Lebanese and Palestinian people will remain united in a common struggle against Zionism and imperialism. Black leaders, including representatives of D.C. Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy, assured the Congress that the Black leadership in the U.S. will continue its dialogue with Palestinians and their representative, the PLO, and will defend the rights of the Palestinian people who are struggling for freedom and justice. The Palestine Congress ended its sessions by electing a new Executive Committee of Palestinian Americans, and sending messages of support to Black leaders in the U.S., reaffirming mutual solidarity. It also sent a message of support to the PLO, expressing its strong feeling that the Palestinian community in the U.S. is part of the Palestinian nation that is united in its struggle for justice and freedom.

Photo credit: Lynne Barbee

Andrew Young, American Mid-East Policy and Zionist Pressure Groups

A few months ago, President Carter declared in front of a black leaders' meeting that Andrew Young could remain in his post for as long as he wishes. Carter was also quoted to have said that Andy Young is the only man in the country that he owes a political debt to. Carter was of course elected to his office at the White House with the highest support the blacks in the U.S. ever granted any president. It was also assumed then that without the black vote Carter would definitely have lost the elections.

The pressures from the media and from other leaders, mainly those of the Jewish community, and from Israel mounted so high that that it became almost clear that Carter would have to fire Young. In weighing the facts around Young's removal from office, Carter had to think of the 1980 election, which he will undoubtedly have a hard time winning without the black vote. The "Young Affair" will certainly have a negative effect on Carter's re-election campaign, especially since many of his promises and commitments to improve the economic status of blacks in America have been only promises. Carter's decision to "fire" Young was certainly a hard one. It is agreed here in Washington that Carter had only two alternatives: either to keep Young and, antagonizing as a result the pro-Israeli forces or to "fire" him and antagonize the black community in the U.S. All things considered, Carter's decision was to risk a friction with the blacks in the U.S. rather than with the pro-Israeli forces. To some extent this really shows the strength of the Israeli forces, considering that there are about 6 million Jews and about 25 million blacks in this country.

Andrew Young's supporters in the U.S. are especially shocked about the fact that while Young was "fired" from his post another American Ambassador in Vienna, Milton Wolf, who had met with a P.L.O. official was not even reprimanded.

Andrew Young, as a black person and as a former leader of the Civil Rights movement, finds himself in some kind of understanding with the people of the third world. His unquestionable success at the U.N. in dealing with the third world nations who are still in the process of achieving their independence and national pride gained Young a good name or even a better one than was known about him before. The countries of the third world, the majority at the U.N., found it easier to deal with Andrew Young

who, to some extent, is a member of a large community in the U.S. struggling to achieve equality, freedom, and a better economic status.

In announcing his "resignation" at the State Department on August 15 Young said that the pace of protocol in diplomacy is too slow for him. He "resigned," he said with no ill feelings, with "some but not many regrets" at what he had done. Young said he chose to leave the administration because "I could not say to anybody that, given the same situation, I would not do it again almost exactly the same way." Ambassador Young told the press that he was trying his best to interpret to his country some of the feelings of the rest of the world. What he meant was that the rest of the world has already accepted the PLO and granted it recognition at the U.N. while the U.S. continues to bury its head in the sand and assumed that the PLO does not exist. Young said, "Unfortunately, by my birth, I came from the same ranks as those who have known and identified with some level of oppression in the world. And by choice, I continue to identify with what I would say, in biblical terms, would be the least of these my brethren."

About his meeting with Zudhi Terazi: he said that he was trying to promote the interest of peace in the world. He also revealed that the Syrians, Lebanese, and Kuwaiti Ambassadors told him that if he wishes to postpone the U.N. Security Council meeting he had to talk to Terazi and to try to persuade him. After his meeting with Terazi, Young told the Israeli Ambassador about his meeting with the PLO representative, which the Israeli Ambassador had already known about. He said that he did this on his own and that he alone should bear the responsibility for it and that is why he is resigning.

When a reporter asked him if he "thinks the American policy on non-recognition of the PLO is a sound policy," Young said, "No, I do not, but I understand it. It was a policy that emerged in the emergencies of 1975. It was at a time when probably we all thought that the PLO would go away. They have not gone away." They have, he went on to say, increased in political and economic strength and therefore it is not "in anybody's interest to ignore these kinds of forces." Young also said that he can understand Israel's position in not wanting to talk with the PLO, but not the U.S.



Andrew Young

The Young controversy, however, did not end with his "resignation" or firing. The black people and the poor people in the U.S., for whom Young was the speaker, are not very happy with his ousting. They are also not happy with the fact that he was ousted as a result of Israeli and U.S., pro-Israeli pressures on him. Ambassador Young himself commented on the effects of the Middle East crisis over the U.S. He said that the support that the U.S. grants to Israel has caused economic difficulties in the U.S. As a result of this, the poor in this country are the most victimized. To put it in simple terms, U.S. blind support for Israeli policy and Israeli pressure on the U.S. not to negotiate with the PLO has brought about oil prices increases, oil embargoes in the past, and possible worse Arab responses which Americans are beginning to question very seriously. One could actually claim that the same argument applies to the rest of the world.

On a Columbia Broadcast System (CBS) program "Face the Nation" Young was asked further about this latest controversy. Young said that when he told Israeli Ambassador of his meeting with Terazi he also brought to his attention the consequences of this coming out to the press. He told him that making this public would bring about a backlash with people that support him in the U.S. Ambassador Blum ignored all this and the backlash became a reality. Young went on to say that, "in the first place, our policy [of not recognizing the PLO] is kind of ridiculous." When asked if the U.S. should abandon the commitment made to Israel in 1975 of not talking to or recognizing the PLO Young said, "No, I do not think you abandon the commitment. I think you define the

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ANDREW YOUNG

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commitment and you don't let the commitment be defined by Israel or by the press."

Young went on in his defense of talks with the PLO to say that the PLO "... is a legitimate power, whether you agree with them, whether they are terrorists, or whatever they are. If you don't have some other means of allowing them to express their grievances, or affirm their rights, or define their rights, you are going to get more death, more violence, more terrorism, and economic dislocation in the United States of America, which will have serious reverberations in the constituency that I think I represent in the Democratic Party." This connection between the U.S. pro-Israeli policy and its economic aftermath on the poor people in the U.S. has never been made before. Young, and in fact other black leaders in the U.S., are correctly blaming Israeli imposed U.S. policy regarding the Middle East for economic difficulties of blacks in the U.S. Young also implied that the Israeli policy is an expansionist one "where Israeli troops are halfway up into Lebanon, where their territory is occupied by Israel is not a part of the definition of the state of Israel." He also called the present government of Israel "stubborn and intransigent." Young also said that America's blacks tend to identify with the oppressed people wherever they are. Palestinians, as oppressed people do get the sympathy and understanding from blacks in the U.S. When asked if he was for creating an independent Palestinian state, Young replied that he is in favor of "giving the people the opportunity for self-determination." The people there, he said, should have the freedom to decide what they want.

In response to the Young affair, many of the leaders of the black community in the U.S. sensed the magnitude of Israel's power and its allies, which is believed to be the reason behind Young's ousting. They in turn wanted to find out a little more about the Palestinian issue. To the black leaders it becomes a duty to continue what Ambassador Young had initiated. The leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization headed at one time by Martin Luther King and which Young helped found, initiated a meeting with Zudhi Terazi in New York on August 20. After the meeting its president, Dr. Joseph Lowery announced in a new conference his support for "Palestinian self-determination," including a homeland.

Another member of the group said that his "organization announced its support for a separate Palestinian state eight months ago." This member, William Jones, also President of the Progressive National Baptist Convention said, "We know that the

interest of the third world people are inextricably related to our own." Another member of the group, Wyatt T. Walker, indicated that their opposition to violence stands but they recognize the right of defensive violence, i.e., to kick back after having been kicked. The conference here is clear that the Palestinians have been kicked and therefore, they have the right to kick back.

Reports circulating at this time and which are causing more anger among black people and their leaders suggest that the State Department was informed of the possible Young-Terazi meeting four days before it actually took place. The question that is being asked is: Why, if the State Department knew about the meeting, did it not advise Young to not go on with it? When the State Department was asked about the meeting by *Newsweek* correspondents, the spokesman acted as if the Department did not know anything about it. Was Young then allowed to hold the meeting and then set up by the administration as a "fall guy"? And finally, how did the State Department know about this possible meeting: is it from the Israeli Intelligence, or did the U.S. Intelligence spy on their Ambassador at the U.N. and in the Kuwaiti Ambassador's house? The other possibility, of course, and which is not discounted at all is that some Arab governments told the U.S. government about the meeting even before it took place.

The *Washington Post* wrote of this affair on August 21 that it "was the most important show of support for the Palestinian cause by any large American group in recent history." It is very unfortunate, however, that a very able man and leader like Andrew Young had to leave his post in a very sensitive spot at the U.N., in order to bring about this support. Naturally the black people in the U.S., as it is being reported now, had their support of the Palestinian people long before the last confrontation between Young and Israel and its supporters. This issue, however, brought to the headlines the question of who really is in charge of formulating the U.S. policy in the Middle East—is it the U.S. government or Israel and its leaders? The answer is not really as clear as is thought to be. It seems, however that it is Israel not the U.S. government that is the maker of U.S. policy in the Middle East. One result is almost certain, and that is that Carter will be hurt by it. How much is not yet clear.

ANALYSIS

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Weizman arrived in Washington with an Israeli request that would double the amount of aid given Israel, with military aid rising from one billion to 185 billion dollars, and a plan for joint production of advanced

U.S. fighter jets, possibly the new F-18.

At a party given by the Israeli Embassy for Weizman on September 15, the *Washington Post* reported Weizman as saying that in South Lebanon, "they" had received a "good wallop," even though he was "sorry a few civilians were hurt." At least three hundred civilians have been killed since Israeli began its "post-treaty" attacks on South Lebanon in April and hundreds of thousands have become refugees due to the Israeli "war without rules" in South Lebanon. Yet in Congressional closed-door hearings on September 11 on the use of U.S. weapons in South Lebanon, the discussion, it is reported, never became substantive. One informed source concluded: "They will continue to ignore the issue until they discover American generals leading the attack in South Lebanon."

EDITORIAL

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freedom for peoples. Self-determination is not a negotiable issue. It forms the very construct, the very foundation, of being a human individual and a nation of men and women.

The United States government, however, has adopted the position of openly committing itself to denying the Palestinians that right.

With that position, the United States has no hope of creating conditions for peace in Palestine. With that position the United States can not attempt to reach out to the Palestinians. Any dialogue between the United States and the PLO at this point must remain futile and of no conceivable practical value.

NEW BOOK

The World of Rashid Hussein: A Palestinian Poet in Exile, edited by Kamal Boullata and Mirene Ghossein and published by the Association of Arab American University Graduates, offers a rich glimpse into the life and work of one of Palestine's most beloved poets. Containing new translations of Hussein's work and essays by Edward Said, I.F. Stone, Eqbal Ahmed, Uri Avnery and Halim Barakat, among others, the book is especially moving and valuable for its exploration of the many dimensions of the experience of exile and of the relations between Jews and Arabs as lived by a sensitive and committed Palestinian. Available for \$6.50 from the Palestine Information Office.

Jesse Jackson on the PLO and Palestinian Rights

The following is an exchange between Bill Monroe, of N.B.C. News and the Reverend Jesse Jackson on *Meet the Press*, August 16.

MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is the Reverend Jesse Jackson, civil rights leader and president of Operation Push.

Mr. Jackson, an advocate of Palestinian rights, has been meeting this past week with black leaders and with Jewish leaders in the wake of Andrew Young's resignation as Ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Jackson, Ambassador Young said the other day it was ridiculous for the U.S. not to be talking with the Palestine Liberation Organization. A few days ago some black leaders, Southern Christian Leadership Conference people primarily, did meet with the PLO ambassador. Do you see this sympathetic interest on the part of blacks and support for things like self-determination as being a temporary reaction to Ambassador Young's being forced out, or do you see it as a continuing thing?

REVEREND JACKSON: I see it as a continuing thing in our national interest.

First of all, there is the awareness that the PLO is recognized by 107 nations of the world; it is recognized by the Palestinian people. There is not likely to be another agent for them to be dealt with.

Secondly, because of the tie-in between the Arab states' economic leverage on this country and PLO, it is a fact that 43 percent of the Free World's oil comes from there. The Arab states have \$141 billion in monetary reserves, more than half of it U.S. money. We are very vulnerable to economic leverage, imposed upon us by that nation.

Lastly, there is just a moral concern about the plight of Palestinian people.

Non-Aligned Parley Ends in Havana

The non-aligned Conference, which held its parley in Havana the first week in September, concluded with declarations of support for the Palestinians. The struggle of colonized and oppressed peoples for freedom, and condemnation of racism and apartheid. Following are excerpts from the declarations of the Conference issued at its conclusion.

"The sixth conference of heads of state or government appeals to all peoples of the world to participate in efforts to free the world from war, the policy of force, blocs

and bloc politics, military bases, pacts and interlocking alliances, the policy of domination and hegemony, inequalities and oppression, injustice and poverty and to create a new order based on peaceful coexistence, mutual cooperation and friendship, an order in which each people may determine its own future, attain its political sovereignty and promote its own free economic and social development without interference, pressures or threats of any kind....

"The sixth conference reaffirmed that the quintessence of the policy of non-alignment, in accordance with its original principles and essential character, involves the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony, as well as against great power and bloc politics....

"The conference commended the unswerving struggle these peoples are waging for their full and complete independence and recognized the role that the nonaligned countries, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries and other democratic and progressive forces play in supporting this struggle, especially in terms of the aid given to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

"The conference welcomed the Iranian Government's decision to suspend its oil sales to South Africa. It also noted with great appreciation the recent action taken by Nigeria against British Petroleum whose oil concessions in Nigeria were nationalized for British violation of the oil embargo against the racist regime in Rhodesia and its pledge to divert oil from the North Sea oilfields.

"The conference reiterated that Rhodesia was still a British colony, illegally governed by a clique of racists and traitors. It requested all states to continue to refrain from any kind of recognition of the racist and illegal Muzorewa puppet regime in accordance with the United Nations Security Council decision and the relevant resolutions of the O.A.U.

"The conference expressed great concern over the steps taken by the British Government and by certain elements in the United States Government and Congress with a view to recognizing the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia and unilaterally lifting the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by the United Nations.

"The conference reaffirmed that the situation in the Middle East continues to pose a serious threat to world peace and security due to the increasing possibility of a new war as a result of Israel's determination to pursue its policy of aggression, expansionism and colonial settlement in the

occupied territories with the support of the United States.

"The conference endorsed the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of the Arab states to reject and oppose any solution or settlement detrimental to the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the liberation of all the occupied Arab territories, and to foil them through all possible means, including the use of force.

"The heads of state or government affirmed their commitment, in concert with all peace-loving states and forces, to the adoption of all steps, within the United Nations and in particular in the Security Council, to confront the continuing challenge by Israel. These measures should include the application of all the necessary sanctions against Israel as well as mandatory and total embargo and its exclusion from the international community. It is essential also to study the political, diplomatic and economic measures to be taken against countries which support the Zionist regime.

"The conference condemned the massive and systematic violation of the most elementary rights of millions upon millions of human beings who live under colonial or racist domination or who are suffering from the consequences of underdevelopment and economic and social exploitation....

"The conference deeply deplored the exploitation of the right of individuals to leave their country for political purposes, such as the implementation of the Zionist program of uprooting Jewish communities from the countries of their origin in order to resettle them in Israel and in the Jewish colonies being illegally established in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories.

TransAfrica Statement on Palestinians, Israel

The following statement was issued by TransAfrica, a Black American organization active in domestic and international issues, on August 27.

TransAfrica, Inc. reflects the widespread attitudes of its general membership throughout the Afro-American community in expressing its anger and dismay at the actions of the Carter Administration and of Israeli spokesmen and supporters that have led to the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young.

... We also hope that the country will now seize upon this first opportunity we have had in our national discourse openly and fully to consider on their own merits the issues of the rights of the Palestinian people, and the role of whatever organizational or individual spokesmen they may freely choose to put forward to represent their interests. We believe that in the past we

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have not been able to have such a discourse because, for whatever reason, Israel and its most ardent supporters have been able virtually to dictate the terms of reference of such a debate, and have allowed Israel unilaterally to confound its political and territorial ambitions . . . and to define the issues to suit themselves. It will no longer do to call the PLO "terrorists" or define the Palestinian issue as one of refugees. Every sovereign state, has a right to define its own policies, but that does not mean that Americans have to follow them slavishly, still less to finance their implementation.

TransAfrica Inc. is an organization with membership throughout the black community, from all walks of life—elected black officials, government servants, clergy, cultural figures, academics, leaders of labor, fraternal and sorority organizations, and the general citizenry. We seek American foreign relations that are more mutually beneficial to this country and to the substantial populations of African descent in the countries of Africa and the Caribbean. We are styled "the black lobby for Africa," and sometimes compared with "the Israeli lobby" by people who wonder if we can "do for Africa what the Jews have done for Israel." We do not seek to do what they have done. We do not seek to hold American policy or action to ransom in the interest of this or that policy or ambition of any foreign country. We can help lead our country to overcome past inequities and images, and help it to live in harmony and peace, and mutual respect, with the new nations and with those still struggling to be born. We work to have the United States have access to their needed resources and to their attractive markets, but more importantly, to

be respected in this for fair dealing, and for the values, deeply rooted in our national ethic, that foster respect for the human dignity, fundamental freedoms, and a decent level of economic well-being for all peoples. . . .

U.S. Relations with the P.L.O.

- We believe that Palestinians are a people who should enjoy the fundamental human rights that other peoples enjoy, including the right to self-determination in a state of their own.

- We are impressed with the fact that the PLO has won the recognition and support of the active defenders of Palestinian rights, of almost all other Arab states, of most of the African states, and most of the delegations to the United Nations. Unless and until the Palestinian people are given an opportunity freely to choose some alternative leadership, through elections or a plebiscite that is not managed by Israel or any other particular and culpable party, efforts should be made to have the PLO's views bear weight on peace making activities for the area. Otherwise, war and conflict will continue, not because a handful of people can always disrupt peaceful populations, but because a whole people, who have been displaced from their homeland will resist the continued denial of their rights.

- We believe that it is callous and hypocritical to claim that the Palestinians already have a state, because Jordan exists, or nineteen other states, because of the other Arab states, as if there are not states in the world, other than Israel of which Jews can feel fully a part. . . .

Israel's Foreign Relations

- We have been all too alone in our protests of growing intimacy between Israel

and the state of South Africa. Israel tends to counter such criticism by pointing out that her trade with South Africa is a very small portion of her total trade. What disturbs us is that so much of this trade and assistance has military implications, to wit:

1. Israel agreed to refit South African armored vehicles, from Centurion tanks to Panhard armored cars, with its newly developed armorplating.

2. Israel delivered to South Africa at least three Reshef class missile boats, and has promised at least three more, has delivered Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles for six South African built corvettes, and has supplied South Africa with rifles, mortars, various types of electronic equipment, and licenses to make the Uzi submachine gun and the 65ft Dabur class patrol boat.

3. Israel helped to revamp the South African air force.

4. Israel was the pass-through area, if not the point of purchase by Rhodesia of eleven Bell helicopters that have been put to military use against the freedom fighters.

5. Israeli technicians helped to erect an electrified 'wall' and to lay a 'carpet' of electronic sensors along South Africa's borders so that it could more effectively counter penetration by freedom fighters.

6. According to Robert Moss, who is considered to write authoritatively about South African military matters, "the most closely guarded secret of all remains the full extent of Israel's co-operation in South Africa's nuclear program. But there is little doubt that South Africa would not have been able to move so quickly toward the testing of a nuclear device without substantial Israeli scientific help." (Daily Telegraph, 5 Nov. 1977).

The P.L.O. Representative at the Security Council

The following is part of the opening statement read by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Security Council session, held August 23, to debate the issue of the Palestinian right to self-determination.

. . . The Palestine Liberation Organization wishes to reiterate its thanks to this august Council and to reaffirm its confidence in the United Nations. We are in no way discouraged or deterred by statements made by officials of the United States Administration. I refer to a statement made by Special Envoy Strauss, who said that the United States would cast a negative vote on any resolution relating to the rights of the Palestinian people. At the very least I might say that he was prejudging an issue, but let us assume that what he said was a slip of the tongue, for otherwise I would see little sense

in our holding this meeting and in the United States being represented in it and wasting the time of the other members if they have in fact prejudged the question.

But what are these rights of the Palestinian people? The General Assembly has affirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine

"including the right to self-determination without external interference, and the right to national independence and sovereignty,"

The Committee entrusted with drawing up a programme to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable rights laboured hard for long hours—for long days and weeks—and presented a programme of implementation in General Assembly document A/31/35. The Committee took as a basic guideline that

"the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty are endorsed by the Committee in the conviction that the full implementation of these rights will contribute decisively to a comprehensive and final settlement of the Middle East crisis." (*ibid.*, para. 60)

Further, the Committee expressed its opinion that "The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375

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The P.L.O. Representative . . .

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(XXX) is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations."

(*ibid.*, para. 61)

Several times already, the General Assembly has endorsed these recommendations, and they were presented to the meeting of the Palestine National Council in March 1977. The Palestine National Council adopted a unanimous decision in which these recommendations were described as a positive and constructive step towards the establishment of peace through the attainment and exercise of our inalienable rights. But all these rights have apparently been forgotten.

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